Tsakhur Language Report

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1. Introduction

The Tsakhur language belongs to the Lezgic group of Nakh-Daghestanian languages. Officially, there are about 30 thousand speakers of Tsakhur in Daghestan. However, according to G.H. Ibragimov, there are no less than 50 thousand speakers – this figure includes the number of Tsakhurs living in Azerbajdzhan. The Tsakhur people live in settlements in the southern area of Daghestan. Most Tsakhur speakers also have a full command of Russian and Azerbajdzhanian, but their first language is undoubtely Tsakhur. The language became written in the 1990s in the Cyrillic script. Since 1994 Tsakhur has been taught in primary school as a subject; there is a primer and some manuals and readers in Tsakhur. Since 1995 the Tsakhur newspaper "Nur" ("The Light") has been published.

According to G.H. Ibragimov (Ibragimov 1990:15), the language has two main dialects: the Tsakh dialect and the Gel'mets dialect. Tsakhur literacy is based on the Tsakh dialect, or more precisely, the Mishlesh idiom. In the database, all examples are in the Mishlesh idiom of the Tsakhur language.

Tsakhur is a split ergative language. Transitive subjects are marked with the ergative case; intransitive subjects and direct objects receive nominative (or, in a different terminology, absolutive) case marking. First and second person pronouns morphologically do not distinguish between ergative and absolutive cases. Tsakhur is a mainly agglutinating language. Its morphology is basically suffixing, though infixing is not rare. Like all Daghestanian languages, Tsakhur has a rich paradigm of nominal cases – there are eighteen. The verb has two basic forms – the perfective form and the imperfective form. These are aspectual forms; temporal meanings are expressed periphrastically, by one of these forms and a copula (or an auxiliary).

Syntactically, Tsakhur is a dependent marking language; its basic word order is SOV and the language makes use of postpositions. The order of constituents is remarkably free. Subordinate clauses are formed by turning the subordinate predicate into one of the non-finite forms (the attributive forms, the verbal noun (or masdar) form or the converb form), the use of conjunctions and complementizers is relatively limited.

Typologically, Tsakhur possesses a number of fascinating features. Some of them are common for all (or nearly all) languages of Daghestan, some are not. Focus marking by means of shifting the copula (or the auxiliary) next to the focused element is the common strategy in all languages of Daghestan, including Tsakhur. The feature which makes Tsakhur unique even among the languages of Daghestan, is the absence of adjectives as a separate category. Instead, there is a morphosyntactic device, which can convert all lexical categories and syntactic phrases in nominal modifiers (in Kibrik (1999), it was labelled as the attributive marker). For the same reason, there is no genitive case in the Tsakhur case paradigm – the functions of the genitive are assumed by the attributive.

2. Controller types

2.1. Noun (noun phrase)

Tsakhur nouns have the grammatical categories of gender, number and case.

2.1.1. Gender

Nouns in Tsakhur are distributed over four genders. Gender 1 comprises words denoting male humans. Examples are *adamī* 'man', *gade* 'boy'. Words denoting female humans, like *jedi* 'mother', *jiš* 'daughter', are of gender 2. Words denoting non-humans can be of

gender 3 and gender 4. There is no explicit semantic principle according to which the noun is classified as gender 3 or gender 4. However, certain regularities can be observed. Most words denoting animals (like 'ram', 'horse' etc.) or social groups (like *ǯamaʔat* 'community') belong to gender 3. Some examples of gender 4 nouns are: *xane* 'bottom', *sen* 'year', *jɨR* 'day', *xʲan* 'water'. Some lexical items are multiple gender words. For example, the word *magazin* 'shop' can be of gender 3 or gender 4. Sometimes, gender alteration goes hand in hand with some changes in semantics. For instance, the word *hulkumat* can be a gender 3 word and a gender 4 word. In the latter case it means 'state', in the former 'government'. The words *kulʲfat* and *ušaR* both meaning 'child' are gender 4 words.

2.1.2. Number

The category of number in Tsakhur has only two values — singular and plural: *gade* (SG) - *gade-bɨ* (PL) 'boy – boys', *jedʲ* (SG) – *jedʲ-ār* (PL) 'mother – mothers' (or, more generally 'women', *Xₒa* (SG) – *Xₒa-bɨ* (PL) 'dog – dogs', *čop* (SG) – *čop-ār* (PL) 'stick – sticks'. In the plural, the most significant distinction is between humans and non-humans. So, agreement markers in the plural distinguish not four genders, but two – human and non-human. Cf.:

(1) gade-bɨ **Gada=p=xun**[1]
boy-PL HPL=run.PF
The boys ran. (68)

(2) Xₒā-bɨ **Gada=t=xun**
dog-PL NPL=run.PF
The dog ran (68)

The words denoting children in the plural control the same agreement as other words denoting humans.

(3) ...ma-n-Gu-s **w**=uxa-jm-mɨ **ušaR-ā-r...**
this.1-A-OBL.1-DAT **HPL**=become.PF-A-PL child.4-PL-NOMPL
To him were born two children. (=T5:95) (50)

Some words are singular in form, but denote a group of multiple objects, whether human (for instance, *ǯamaʔat* 'community' of gender 3) or non-human (*Xut-Xuruš* 'small things' of gender 4). Such words can trigger plural agreement on the target:

(4) za-k-e ejx-e-n, ejx-e-ni ga=d=a-n **XutXuruš**
1SG.OBL-CONT-EL 4.become-IPF-A 4.become-IPF-AOBL 4=way-A small.things.**4**
ališ̆ₒ-īm-mɨ.
NPL.bought.PF-**A-PL**
I bought some small things I could afford. (T5:136) (817-818)

2.1.3. Case.

Tsakhur nouns have two stems: the bare stem and the oblique stem. The bare stem shows up only in the absolutive case. When the noun is inflected for case, case markers attach to the oblique stem. There are several types of oblique stems which are arbitrarily distributed (there is no semantic or morphonological motivation for a noun to have a certain type of an oblique stem): *eb* (bare) – *eb-a* (oblique) 'blood', *eč* (bare) - *eč-e* (oblique) 'apple', *do* (bare) – *do-ji*

[1] Normally, in the interlinear line, affix glosses are lined up in the same order they are in the Tsakhur word, but with infixed markers this principle was hard to observe. So, the interlinear counterparts of the infixed markers – in particularly, agreement markers on the verb – come before the root in the glossing.

(oblique) 'name'. The formation of some oblique stems involves stem vowel alternations: *diX* (bare) – *duX-aj* (oblique) 'son'. In the plural, there is only one type of the oblique stem: *jalq-bɨ* (bare) – *jalq-b-iš* (oblique) 'roads'.

There are 18 cases in the Tsakhur case paradigm. Below is the table illustrating all case form of a Tsakhur noun.

Table 1. Tsakhur case paradigm.

	jalq 'road'	
CASE	SG	PL
Nominative	jalq	jalq-bɨ
Ergative	jalq-ɨ-n	jalq-b-iš-e
Dative	jalq-ɨ-s	jalq-b-iši-s
Comitative	jalq-ɨ-k̥a ‖ jalq-u-ka	jalq-b-iši-k̥a
Possessive	jalq-ɨ-qa=d	jalq-b-iši-qa=d
Inessive	jalq-e	jalq-b-iš-e
Inallative	jalq-ē-qa	jalq-b-iš-ē-qa
Inelative	jalq-ē-nče	jalq-b-iš-ē-nče
Superessive	jalq-ɨ-lj	jalq-b-iši-lj
Superallative	jalq-ɨ-l-qa	jalq-b-iši-l-qa
Superelative	jalq-ɨ-l-e	jalq-b-iši-l-e
Contessive	jalq-ɨ-kj	jalq-b-iši-kj
Contallative	jalq-ɨ-k-qa	jalq-b-iši-k-qa
Contelative	jalq-ɨ-k-e	jalq-b-iši-k-e
Adessive	jalq-ɨ-sana	jalq-b-iši-sana
Adallative	jalq-ɨ-s-qa	jalq-b-iši-s-qa
Adelative	jalq-ɨ-s-e	jalq-b-iši-s-e
Allative	jalq-ɨ-qa	jalq-b-iši-qa

The unmarked case in the Tsakhur case paradigm is the nominative, or, in a different terminology, the absolutive[2]. The basic agreement rule in Tsakhur states that

only absolutive (i.e. unmarked for case) NPs can control agreement.

2.2. Personal pronoun

In Tsakhur, there are four personal pronouns: *zɨ* 'I', *Ru* 'you', *ši* 'we', *šu* 'you'. There are no third person pronouns, their functions are performed by demonstrative determiners (see below). There is no personal agreement in Tsakhur, but personal pronouns, like nouns, can trigger gender agreement. What is more, entities referred to by personal pronouns do not have to be human. An example has been attested, in which the second person singular pronoun is referring to a newspaper (!); so, the verb agrees with the personal pronoun in gender, but it is gender 4 (and not one of 'human' genders, as one would expect):

(5) Ru wo=d jiš-di Xalq'-ɨ-n dirak.
you.4 be=4 our-AOBL people-OBL-A stand-by.4
You (the newspaper) are a stand-by for our people. (T9:2) (859)

2.3. Demonstrative determiner

In Tsakhur, demonstrative determiners perform the functions of third person pronouns. Like the English demonstrative determiners 'this' and 'that', the Tsakhur demonstrative determiners can be used either as noun modifiers or as stand-alone pronouns.

Demonstrative determiners distinguish between genders 1-3, on the one hand, and gender 4, on the other. That is, when referring to words of gender 1-3 or objects, denoted by words of

[2] The term 'absolutive' will be preferred in this report.

gender 1-3, they have the form ending in *−na* (*i-na, ma-na, še-na* etc.) as all attributives do. The form in *−n* (*i-n, ma-n, še-n*) is for reference to words of gender 4.

2.4. Q-Pronoun

There are two basic question words in Tsakhur, referring to humans and non-humans respectively: *hašu* 'who' and *hiǯō* 'what'. From these two, various types of indefinite pronouns can be derived. For instance:

hašu-mɨ 'someone' (referential, but unknown to the speaker)
hašu-xe=r 'somebody' (non-referential and unknown to the speaker).

The word *hiǯō* can take the plural form *hiǯō-bɨ*. For the word *hašu*, it has not been attested.

There are no negative pronouns in Tsakhur similar to the English 'nothing', 'nobody' or 'nowhere'. In Tsakhur negative sentences question words are used in combination with the restrictive particle *ǯa=GEND*, while negation is expressed in the verb form. So, the sentence like the English 'Nobody came' in Tsakhur would sound like 'Even anybody didn't come':

(6) hašu-ǯa=r id$_j$-a=r=na.
who.1-RESTR=1 NEG-1=come.PF-AA
Nobody came. (145)

2.5. Quantified noun phrase

In quantified noun phrases, the quantified noun usually takes the singular form, and the numeral agrees with it in gender:

(7) a. xo=j=re adamī il$_j$o=r=zur-o=r.
five=**1**=CARD man.**1** 1=stand.PF-be=1
Five men are standing.

Interestingly enough, the head noun can take the plural form, but the numeral still agrees with it as if it were in singular:

b. **xo=j=re** adam-ē-r il$_j$o=b=zur-o=b.
five=**1**=CARD man.**1-PL-NOM.PL** HPL=stand.PF-be=HPL
Five men are standing (159).

Note that in the (7a) example the verb agrees with the quantified phrase in the singular, because the head noun is singular in form. When the head noun of the quantified phrase is plural (example (7b)), the verb takes a plural agreement marker. This type of agreement variability (Sg/Pl) has been attested only for animate nouns in quantified noun phrases, which makes it highly plausible to think that animacy is the condition on number agreement here.

2.6. Emphatic pronoun

Tsakhur has a special pronoun type, an emphatic pronoun, whose function is to refer to a highly prominent discourse entity. Consider the following discourse fragment:

(8) sa jalq̄-ē malʔallim-ē sɨRoc-aʔ-u-na
one time-IN teacher-ERG 1.stand.up-1.make-PF-AA
šuluX haʔ-a-ni ǯig$_j$-ē, iwho-jn:
noise.4 4.make-IPF-AOBL place-IN say.PF-A
Once the teacher made him stand up when he was making noise, and said:

(9) "iwh-e, hiʒō-je zɨ halbsaʔa=d iwho".
say-IMP what.4-Q1 1SG.ERG just=4 say.PF
"Say, what I've just said!"

(10) gojne **wuʒ-ē=d** ejh-e-jī hiʒō-je
then self.1-ERG=COH.4 say-IPF-EM1 what.4-Q1
malʔallim-ē iwho.
teacher-ERG say.PF
And then he repeated what the teacher had said. (T2:16-18) (780)

The topic of the episode is a naughty boy who was known for making noise in class. Sentences (8) – (9) do not contain any reference to him; moreover, a new discourse entity is introduced – the teacher. So, to make it clear that she is referring to the most topical discourse referent (the boy) and not to the one which has just been introduced, the speaker uses the emphatic pronoun (the pronoun *wuǯ* in sentence (10)).

The emphatic pronoun has two different forms for the four genders in the singular and two forms in the plural. They are all in the table below[3].

Table 2. Forms of emphatic pronouns.

	Singular	Plural
Gender 1 (male)	wuǯ	ǯo
Gender 2 (female)	jiǯ	ǯo
Gender 3 (neuter)	wuǯ	jiǯ-bɨ
Gender 4 (neuter)	jiǯ	jiǯ-bɨ

Emphatic pronouns in Tsakhur also function as reflexives:

(11) rasul-u-s **ǯu-s** **wuǯ** ɨk̄an
Rasul-OBL-DAT self.1.OBL-DAT self.1 1.like.IPF
Rasul likes himself. (632)

2.7. No overt controller

Zero anaphora is very frequent in Tsakhur: whenever an argument can be inferred from the context, it is easily omitted. However, even though the controller can be absent, in many constructions the target still agrees with it in gender and number. Consider, for instance, the following example:

(12) sa jalq̄-ē malʔallim-ē **sɨRoc-aʔ-u-na**
one time-IN teacher-ERG **1**.stand.up-**1**.make-PF-AA
šuluX haʔ-a-ni ǯigj-ē, iwho-jn:
noise.4 4.make-IPF-AOBL place-IN say.PF-A
Once the teacher made him stand up when he was making noise, and said... (T2:16) (780)

In this example, the direct object of the verb ***sɨRoc-aʔ-u-na*** 'to make stand up' is missing because it is restorable from the immediate context (the passage where the sentence belongs to is about a naughty boy). The verb agreement in this case supports reference tracking by showing agreement with an entity of gender 1.

[3] The fact that there are only two gender forms in the singular might make us introduce a new variety of Gender2 in the database – the one where Gender1/3 will be opposed to Gender2/4. However,. if we take into account the plural form, we can see, that there are four different combinations of singular and plural (*wuǯ – ǯo* (gender 1), *jiǯ – ǯo* (gender 2), *wuǯ – jiǯ-bɨ* (gender 3), *jiǯ – jiǯ-bɨ* (Gender 4)). These four combinations led me to assume that Tsakhur does distinguish four genders in the system of emphatic pronouns. So, in the database, emphatic pronouns have been entered as distinguishing four genders (gender 4a in terms of the database).

In the majority of cases, the absence of an overt controller is an instance of discourse zero anaphora, and gender agreement in these cases can be viewed as serving the purposes of reference tracking. However, in a number of constructions, the absence of an overt controller cannot be explained by obvious discourse factors. In the analysis of these constructions, there was more than one way to go, and the 'no overt controller' analysis was adopted for practical reasons. Below these constructions are analyzed in fuller detail.

2.7.1. Headless attributives.

In Tsakhur noun phrases, the head noun can be omitted, and the attributive is left standing on its own. Consider, for instance, the following example:

(13) me=n=ni — other=NPL-AOBL
oIlka-b-iši-l-wu — country-PL-OBLPL-SUP-WY
ejh-e-nGaI, — speak-IPF-TEMP1
mesal$_j$ — for.instance
azerbajʒan-ɨ-l$_j$ - — Azerbajdzhan-OBL-SUP
jiš-di — our-AOBL
miz-e-l$_j$ — language-OBL-SUP
jišon-āʔ-a-m-mɨ — speak-HPL.make-IPF-A-PL
Xe=p=pa-ne — big=HPL=ADV.HPL=Q2
wo=b=ɨm-mɨ? — be=HPL=A-PL

When we speak of other countries – for instance, Azerbajdzhan, - are there many {people} there, who speak our language? (T5:226) (830-831)

In this example, the attributive ***jišon-āʔ-a-m-mɨ*** 'speaking' does not have a head noun and can be claimed to be substantivized. The question is, then, what is the agreement of the predicate adverb ***Xe=p=pa-ne*** 'many' controlled by? One potential controller is the substantivized attributive. Another option is to say that the adverb agrees with the omitted head noun of the attributive ***jišon-āʔ-a-m-mɨ***. We have chosen the latter possibility rather than introducing a new controller type (substantivized attributive) in the database. So, in the database examples like that one are treated as domains with no overt controller.

2.7.2. Matrix verbs.

In Tsakhur non-finite complement clauses the subject can be co-indexed with the subject of the matrix clause.

(14) dak̄-i-s̄-e — father-OBL-AD-EL
hohar-as — **1.**walk.POT
alX-as-da. — 1.be.able-POT-AA

Father will be able to walk. (526)

(15) ičī-s — girl-DAT
daRam=da — run=ADV.4
wo=d — be=4
Gada=r=xun-ī. — **2**=run.PF-MSD

It's hard for the girl to run. (526)

In both example (14) and (15) the agreement of the subordinate verb form (potentialis in (14) and verbal noun in (15)) can be claimed to be controlled by a PRO, coindexed with a noun phrase in the matrix clause ('father' in (14) and 'girl' in (15)). Another possibility would be introducing a new controller type - main clause argument, thus allowing agreement with non-absolutive noun phrases (see 2.1.3. for basic agreement rule). As both options seem counter-intuitive, we have chosen the 'no overt controller' analysis in this case too. That means to say, that there is no overt item controlling the agreement of the subordinate verb, but it does not imply postulating structural zeroes (like PRO or pro). Nor does it involve contradiction with the basic agreement rule which states that only absolutive noun phrases can control agreement.

A more complicated situation arises when the overt controller is absent in the matrix clause. Consider the following examples.

(16) bajram — Bajram.1
Gatī=r=xɨn-na — 1=finish.PF-AA
o=r=k'un. — **1=**write.PF

Bajram finished writing. (527)

(17)a. jed-ē — mother-ERG
jiq' — broth.3
ha=w=ʔ-u — 3=make-PF
Gatī=p=xɨn-na. — **3=**finish.PF-AA

b. jed-ē jiq' ha=w=ʔ-u **Gaƫi=r=xin-na**.
мать-ERG бульон.3 3=делать-PF **2=**кончать.PF-AA

Mother finished making broth. (527)

In (16), the dependent verb ***o=r=k'un*** 'to write' has no overt controller, but this case has been discussed above. In (17a) the matrix verb agrees with a noun of gender 3, which can only be the absolutive argument of the dependent clause (*jiq'* 'broth'). This is a clear case of non-local agreement, but it does not violate the basic agreement rule. (17b) is worse in this respect, because the matrix verb agrees with a gender 2 noun, and the only gender 2 noun in the sentence is in the ergative (*jed-ē* 'mother-ERG')!

The same agreement pattern (i.e. agreement with the ergative NP in the subordinate clause) can be found with the verb 'to start':

(18) aImale šawa-ne gjōt-a **gi=r=Ri**l?
donkey.3 **who.1**.ERG-Q2 3.beat-IPF **1=start**.PF

Who started beating the donkey? (500)

For reasons discussed above we are opting for the 'no overt controller' analysis in this case as well. What makes this analysis even more plausible is the fact that the matrix verbs 'to start' and 'to finish' can have an overt absolutive NP (cf. ex. (16)).

2.7.3. Agreement of adjuncts and subordinate verbs in attributive clauses.

In Tsakhur relative clauses the verb receives attributive marking, and the clause preposes the head noun. There are but few restrictions on relativization in terms of the Keenan-Comrie hierarchy: it can go very deep down the hierarchy, so that even arguments of an embedded clause can be relativized:

(19) šawa-mɨ injaqa a=r=ɨ za-k'le
s[who. ERG-INDEF2 here 1=bring.PF 1SG.OBL-AFF
d-ac'a-ni insan-ē jiz-di dak̄-in
NEG-1.know-AOBL]s man-ERG my-AOBL father-A
papryz-by qoI=t=q-u.
cigarette-PL NPL=steal-PF

A man who I don't know who brought here stole my father's cigarettes. (473)

Agreement inside the relative clause is controlled by the internal absolutive argument. Consider the following example:

(20) **teze=da** āli maktab **Gaƫi=t=xin-na** maIʔallim
fresh=**ADV.4** hig school.**4** **4**=finish.PF-AA teacher.2

A woman teacher who has just (=freshly) graduated from university(=high school). (T1:32) (775)

In this example, the adverb inside the relative clause ('freshly') and the infixed agreement marker of the verbal attributive (***Gaƫi=t=xin-na***) both agree with the absolutive argument, internal to the relative clause (*maktab* 'school' of gender 4). Problems arise, when the internal absolutive argument of the relative clause is coindexed with the head noun and hence omitted in the relative clause.

(21) **ek'=ra** **mɨk'a-qex-e-na** insan q'ɨldimna
s[fast=ADV.1 **1**.get.cold-**1**.become-IPF-AA]s man.**1** in.winter
daRam=ra wo=r.
difficult=ADV.1 be=1

Winter is hard for a man who gets cold very fast. (467)

In the example above, it looks like the agreement of the adverb 'fast' and the verbal form ***mɨk'a-qex-e-na*** is controlled by the head noun 'man', as its the only noun of gender 1.

However, this analysis is dispreferred in case the head noun is marked for one of the oblique cases:

(22) mič'āI=r ek'=**ra** **suRoc-in-Gu-s**
morning=1 fast=**ADV.1** get.up.PF-A-OBL.1-DAT]$_S$]$_{NP}$
allah-ē hel-e-n-xe.
Allah-ERG 4.give-IPF-A-HAB
Allah gives (good things) to those who get up early in the morning.(479)

In (22), the adverb in the relative clause ('fast') has the agreement marker of gender 1, though the only NP which could be a possible controller, is in the dative case. So, we either have to admit that non-absolutive NPs can control agreement contrary to the basic agreement rule, or accept the 'no overt controller analysis'. In the database, the latter has been preferred.

However, some instances of inconsistent agreement within relative clauses have been attested. Consider the next example:

(23) anna wasilewna-nī wo=r=na in$_j$ā maʕallim,
Anna Vasiljevna.2-EM2 be=2=A here teacher.2
gē=r **uftan=da** dars hel-e-na.
very=**2** nice=**ADV.4** class.4 4.give-IPF-A
Anna Vasiljevna used to be a teacher here, the one who gave classes very well. (T5:209) (828)

The part of the sentence after the comma (*gē=r uftan=da dars hel-e-na*) is a relative clause modifying the head noun which could either be 'Anna Vasiljevna' or 'teacher'. The word *gē=r* 'very' and the adverb *uftan=da* 'nicely' should belong to the same constituent, as the word 'very' semantically modifies the adverb. Quite unexpectedly, they differ in the agreement patterns. The adverb agrees with the internal absolutive NP of the relative clause (the word 'class' of gender 4), while the modifier 'very' agrees with the head noun (which is either 'Anna Vasiljevna' or 'teacher', but in any case, of gender 2).

2.7.4. Non-verbal attribtutives as predicates

Non-verbal attributives in predicate position show gender (example (24)) and number (example (25)) agreement:

(24) z**ɨ** lap d$_j$oles-**na** wo=r
1SG very close-**AA** be=1
I am a very close (relative). (T5:184) (824)

(25) hammaz-ā-r=**ɨb** naIX=b=**um-mɨ**-ne ?
friend-PL-NOMPL=COH.HPL what=HPL=A-**PL**-Q2
What (were) his friends like? (T3:10) (783)

Theoretically, agreement of the attributive predicate could be controlled either by the subject NP or by the omitted head noun in the predicate noun phrase. There is ample evidence in favour of the second analysis: Tsakhur language consultants strongly preferred nominal predicate sentences with full NPs in predicate position.

(26) ma-na wo=r=jī maIXu=r **uftan-na** **ičī**,
this.2-AA be=2=EM1 so=2 beautiful-AA girl.2
maIXu=r **alk'el$_j$-na-na** **ičī**...
so=2 intelligence-NA-AA girl.2...
She was such a beautiful girl, such an intelligent girl... (T2:9) (778)

For this reason, agreement of non-verbal predicate attributives is analysed as being triggered by the omitted head noun of the predicate noun phrase.

2.8. No possible controller

There is a number of constructions in Tsakhur, where the controller is absent and cannot be restored. These include:

a) sentences with the verb 'to study'.

The verb *qaɫ=GEND=qas* is a transitive verb whose subject is always marked for the ergative case. It means both 'to read' and 'to study'. In the former case, the verb agrees with the direct object. In the latter case, the verb, cannot have a direct object at all. Compare the following examples:

(27) rasulⱼ-ē kaRɨz o=j=k'ₒan, malhammadⱼ-ē=d k'azet-**o=d**
Rasul-ERG letter.4 4=write.IPF Mahammad-ERG=COH.4 newspaper.4-be**=4**
qaɫ=d=aq̄-a.
4=read-IPF

Rasul is writing a letter, Mahammad is reading a newspaper. (338)

(28) ma-n-Gₒ-ē uniwersitetⱼ-ē q'oI=l=le sen-na hiqa=d
this.1-A-OBL.1-ERG university-IN two=4=CARD year-NA before=4
qaɫ=t=q-ɨ-jī.
4=study-PF-EM1

He studied at university two years ago. (111)

While in (27) the verb agrees with the direct object, in (28) there is no direct object, so the default agreement marker on the verb (the one of gender 4) is chosen.

b) predicate adverbs, denoting the state of environment ('hot', 'cold') or the state of affairs ('good', 'bad'). These adverbs either have no subject (example (29)), or the subject is in the dative and cannot control the agreement of the predicate adverb (example (30)). In both cases, default agreement marker on the adverb (gender 4) is chosen.

(29) Gīna mɨk'a=**da** wo=d.
today cold=**ADV.4** be=4

It is cold today. (435)

(30) bajram-ɨ-s mɨk'a=**da** wo=d=un.
Bajram-OBL-**DAT** cold=**ADV.4** be=4=A

Bajram is cold. (435)

c) constructions of the type 'it is so'. English has a dummy pronoun in the subject position, Tsakhur does not have dummy arguments. Instead, the verb 'to be' and the adverb acquire the default agreement marker (gender 4).

(31) iwho-jn: "deʔiš, hak'e=**da=d** hamaIXu=**d** **ɨxa**".
say.PF-A no indeed=**ADV.4=4** thus=4 4.become.PF

{LC: The judge thinks that Ibrahim Pasha is lying. But Ibrahim Pasha} says: No, indeed, it was so.(T3:48) (788)

In all these constructions with no possible controller, the target acquires gender 4 agreement markers, as gender 4 is the default gender in Tsakhur.

2.9. Defective controller

2.9.1. Clause

Tsakhur matrix predicates agree with their clausal arguments – mostly direct objects, though clausal subjects are also possible.

(32) jē olgī-k-e fɨkɨr-ē **ejx-e-n-xe**
Q2 beforehand-CONT-EL mind-IN 4.become-IPF-A-HAB

"zɨ haj-ni insan-u-k̥a GalmaGal hāʔ-as-wu",
1SG.ERG this-AOBL man-OBL-COMIT outrage.3 3.make-POT-WY

{LC: At weddings men start fighting. Does it happen because they get drunk and don't control themselves?} Or do they have it in mind (=is it in the mind) {even before they come to the wedding}, that they are going to attack this or that man? (T5:195) (826)

In (32), the defective clausal controller occupies the subject position of the verb 'to be', which agrees with its clausal subject in the default gender (gender 4).

There are several clause types that can control agreement of the matrix verb: finite clauses (example (33)), complementizer clauses (example (34)), masdar (verbal noun) clauses (example (35)). However, they are the same in terms of agreement: they all trigger default gender agreement (the default gender in Tsakhur is gender 4, cf. 3.8.).

(33) še-n-G-ē **iwho** **wo=d**: "aši, zɨ magazin
that.2-A-OBL.2-ERG say.PF be=**4** well 1SG.ERG shop.4
baRlamiš-aʔ-a".
close-4.make-IPF

She says: "Well, I am closing the shop". (T3:22) (785)

(34) ma-m-m-iš-di Xe=r=ni duX-ē,
this.HPL-A-PL-OBLPL-AOBL eldest=1=AOBL son.OBL-ERG
za-k'le **Gajx-īn**, qaI=t=q-ɨ ǯa=d deš-**wɨ.**
1SG.OBL-AFF **4.**hear.PF-A 4=study-PF RESTR=4 not.be-**COMPL**

Their elder son, I've heard, did not study at all. (T2:3) (778)

(35) "ma-n-Gu-qa=d kalle ɨxa-j-jī
this-OBL.1-POSS=4 head 4.become.PF-MSD-и
d-exa-j xunaše-k'le jug=da **ac'a-xe-s**".
NEG-4.become-MSD wife-AFF good=ADV.4 **4.**know-**4.**become-POT

His wife must know very well, if he had a head or not. (T8:16) (858)

2.9.2. Postpositions

In Tsakhur postpositional phrases, the nouns are generally in the absolutive case. There is a group of postpositions, though, that trigger the oblique attributive marker on the noun. The resulting construction is similar to an NP where the postposition acts as the head noun in the oblique case (cf. 4.2):

(36) zɨ wa-s meX̥ hāʔ-as allī
1SG.ERG you.OBL-DAT story.3 3.make-POT Ali
maIʔallim-ni **Xizan-ni** **halk'ē.**
teacher-AOBL family-AOBL about

I'll tell you a story of teacher Ali's family. (=T2:1) (778)

So, postpositions form another type of defective controllers with a different default agreement pattern: they trigger default case agreement (oblique attributive) on the noun. Historically, these postpositions might well have been nouns, and the noun phrase structure of the postpositional phrase is still quite transparent.

2.9.3. Attributives

Attributivization in Tsakhur operates on syntactic phrases rather than on lexical categories (cf. 3.2.2.). That entails, for one thing, the possibility for the attributive noun to have modifiers. These modifiers (for example, 'my' in (37) and 'Tsakhur' in (38)) show agreement in case with the attributive noun – they are marked with the oblique attributive:

(37) a. **jiz-di** **dost-u-na** balkan
my-**AOBL** **friend-OBL-AA** horse.3

My friend's horse. (300)

(38) **c'aIX-ni** **miz-e-n** **kitab-bɨ**
цахурский-AOBL язык-OBL-A книга-PL

Books in the Tsakhur language (T1:19) (772)

So, attributive nouns, like postpositions (cf. 3.9.2.) are defective controllers triggering oblique attributive marking on their modifiers.

2.10. Conjoined and commitative noun phrases and pronouns

2.10.1. Conjoined constituents

Noun phrases in Tsakhur are conjoined in two ways. First, the conjunction *–jī* (*-ī* after vowels) can be used to form a conjoined NP:

(39) c'aIX-b-iš-di-**jī** urus-ā-ši-ni arē haImmašē
Tsakhur-PL-OBLPL-AOBL-and Russian-PL-OBLPL-AOBL between always
maIX=d=un muIhubbat ɨxa-jn, wo=d=un, me=d ix-es-ɨn.
this=4=A friendship.4 4.become.PF-A be=4=A more=4 4.become-POT-A
Such friendship between Russians and Tsakhurs has always exisyed and will exist. (T1:50) (777).

Another option is a special particle which is otherwise employed to conjoin portions of discourse to make it coherent. Compare the two examples below: in (40), the coherence particle on the adverb 'still' links the whole proposition to the previous discourse; in (41), the same particle conjoins two headless relative clauses.

(40) Xiw-ni, rajon-ni toXtur-ā-ši-s̄-e hič̄u=d
village-AOBL district-AOBL doctor-PL-OBLPL-AD-EL what.4=COH.4
haʔ-as dj-aIX-a.
4.make-POT NEG-4.be.able-IPF
Village doctors and regional doctors could not do anything.

ɨk'ar **hale=d** ut'um-ex-e.
disease.4 still=**COH.4** strong-4.become-IPF
An) the disease is progressing (=is still becoming stronger) (T1:40-41) (776)

(41) i-m-mi-ši-k'le ac'a wo=d=un balkan-ā-r injāqa
this.H-A-PL-OBLPL-AFF 4.know be=4=A horse-PL-NOMPL here
ɨk̄ēk-a-m-mɨ=b, inenče **qik̄-a-m-mɨ=b**.
NPL.bring-IPF-A-PL=COH.HPL from.here NPL.take-IPF-A-PL=COH.HPL
They know (both) those who bring (stolen) horses here and those who take them from here .(T3:41)(797)

In fact, *-jī* (usually in combination with the coherence particle) can also be employed to achieve discourse coherence:

(42) ma-n-Gɨ-ni kumag-u-k̥a maktab-ē-nče q'oI=j=re
this.2-A-OBL.2-AOBL help-OBL-COMIT school-IN-EL two=1=CARD
Gizil medal-u-k̥a teleba-bɨ haIzɨr-a=w=ʔ-u,
golden medal-OBL-COMIT students-PL prerpare-HPL=make-PF
ǯo-ji=b āli maktab-ē-qa ē=p'=č'-u.
self.HPL-and=COH.HPL high school-IN-ALL HPL=enter-PF
With his help, two students got golden medals and went to university (=high school). (T1:38) (776)

In (42), the conjunction along with the coherence particle attach to the emphatic pronoun and thus link two propositions.

Agreement on conjoined NPs has a number of interesting features. In (Corbett 1999) it has been shown, that Tsakhur speakers had difficulties in choosing the agreement pattern for NPs, where nouns from genders 1 and 2 (humans) were conjoined with nouns from genders 3 and 4 (non-humans). Consider the following examples:

(43) dak-ī diX Xā wo=b=u-m-mɨ
father.1-and son.1 at.home be=HPL=A-PL

Father and son are at home (Corbett 1999: 405) [4]

(44) dak-ī jedj Xa: wo=b=u-m-mɨ
father.1 mother.2 at.home be=HPL=A-PL

Father and mother are at home. (Corbett 1999: 405)

(45) balkan-ī almale Xā wo=d=u-m-mɨ
horse.3-and donkey.3 at.home be=NPL=A-PL

The horse and the donkey are at home (Corbett 1999: 406)

(46) q'uq'-ī nišе Xā wo=d=u-m-mɨ
egg.3-and cheese.4 at.home be=NPL=A-PL

The egg and the cheese are at home. (Corbett 1999: 405)

In (43) and (44), the conjoined nouns are both headed by nouns from gender 1 or gender 2, and the agreement marker on the verb is that of human plural. (45) and (46) are unproblematic as well: the conjoined nouns are from gender 3 or gender 4 and both denote non-humans, so the verb has the non-human plural agreement marker. However, when nouns from gender 1 or 2 were conjoind with nouns of gender 3 or 4, it was no more a clear situation. The speakers were reluctant to accept both the human plural agreement form and the non-human plural agreement form:

(47) dak-ī balkan Xā ??wo=b=u-m-mɨ // ??wo=d=u-m-mɨ
father.1-and horse.3 at.home ??be=HPL=A-PL // ??be=NPL=A-PL

Father and the horse are at home (Corbett 1999: 406)

(48) jiš-ī kabaj Xā ??wo=b=u-m-mɨ // ??wo=d=u-m-mɨ
daughter.1-and butterfly.4 at.home ??be=HPL=A-PL // ??be=NPL=A-PL

Father and the horse are at home (Corbett 1999: 407)

However, the nouns denoting babies and children could be conjoined with nouns of gender 1 and 2 in an acceptable way, though in Tsakhur they all belong to gender 4. Verbal agreement in this case was human plural:

(49) jed-ī čaran Xā wo=b=u-m-mɨ
mother.2 baby.4 at.home be=HPL=A-PL

Mother and (new-born) baby are at home (Corbett 1999: 407)

According to (Corbett 1999), gender resolution rules in Tsakhur have to be stated in semantic terms:

1. If all conjuncts denote humans, then the human plural agreement form is used.
2. If no conjuncts denote humans, then the non-human plural agreement form is used.
3. Otherwise an alternative construction is preferred. (Corbett 1999: 408).

However, in certain contexts conjoined noun phrases allow agreement not in plural, but in singular:

(50) saRol, Ru jiš-da Xe=r=na čuʒaw, wa-qa=**b**
thanks you ourAA big=1=AA brother.1 you.OBL-**POSS=3**
Xe=**p=pa** alk'elj, iš-ē taʒruba, ek'ₒalla wo=**b.**
big=**3=ADV.3** intelligence**.3** work-IN experience**.3** courage**.3** be=**3**

Thank you, our big brother, you have a lot of intelligence, experience in work, a lot of courage. (T1:51) (777)

2.10.2. Comitative phrases.

In the case of comitative phrases as agreement controllers, it is always the absolutive constituent of the comitative phrase that controls agreement. So, it is quite possible to say that

[4] The transcription and the interlinear glossing have been changed to make them consistent with the transcription and glossing used elsewhere in Tsakhur entries.

comitative phrases with regard to agreement are not at all different from other noun phrases and comply with the basic agreement rule. In (51), the absolutive noun is singular and from gender 1; so, the verb agrees with the comitative phrase in gender 1 and singular.

(51) **ibrehim-paše=r** **sumk'a-j-kₒa** sana oltmiš-xa **a=r=k'ɨn-o=r.**
Ibrahim-pasha.1=COH.1 bag-OBL-COM together leave-1.become.PF 1=leave.PF-be=1
Ibrehim Pasha did leave with the bag. (T3:75) (791)

However, if the constituents of a comitative noun phrase both denote humans, the target can agree not in the singular, but can take the human plural form (example (52)). In particular, that happens when the controller is a reciprocal pronoun (example (53)).

(52) malhammad rasul-u-kₒa sa boj-ē **wo=b.**
Mahammad.1 Rasul-OBL-COMIT one height-IN be=**HPL**
Mahammad is as tall as Rrasul is (=they are of the same height). (165)

(53) ...sa bahna t'abalj-a=w=ʕ-u, sa-na
one reason.3.SG.NOM find-3=make-PF one.**1**-AA.SG.**NOM**
sa-n-Gu-kₒa **sačāxar-o=b=xe.**
one-A-OBL.1-COMIT **HPL**.fight.IPF-be=**HPL**=HAB
{LC: when people come to a wedding, they get drunk and) without any cause start fighting with each other. (=T5:190) (825)

2.11. Measure phrases.

In measure phrases, the measure word is typically in the absolutive case, and the "measured" is in the attributive form:

(54) še-n-G-ē iwho-jn: **"jic'uxa=d** **āzɨr**
that.2-A-OBL.2-ERG say.PF-A fifteen=4 thousand
manat **pɨl-na-nī** wo=b=na".
rouble money-AA-EM2 be=3=AA
She said: "The money was fifteen thousand roubles (=fifteen thousand rouble of money)". (T3:56) (789)

However, in the next example both are in the absolutive. This creates a possibility for agreement variability: the target can agree either with the measure word, or with the measured substance. So, though the possessive and the existential verb in the first sentence agree with the measure word, the verb in the next sentence agrees with the word denoting the measured content.

(55) moljc'alj **litra**-nī wo=**b**=na za-qa=**b** temiz-ɨn
80 litre.**3.SG.NOM**-EM2 be=**3**=AA 1SG.OBL-POSS=**3** pure-A
iški. dehe Gajɨ=**t**=xɨr-īn...
spirit.***4.SG.NOM*** for.the.moment ***4***=be.enough.PF-A
(At the wedding party) I had 80 litres of pure spirits. It was quite enough ... (=T5:113-114) (815)

3. Target types.

Different target types in Tsakhur include: finite and non-finite (subordinate) verbs, noun modifiers (attributives), pronouns, underived adjectives, adverbs (and adverbials), postpositions and particles. Below each type will be given a more detailed examination.

3.1. Finite verbs.

The Tsakhur verb has two basic indicative forms: the perfective and the imperfective. These are aspectual in their semantics. The third basic form – potentialis - can express the reference to the future and some modal meanings.

Each verbal form in Tsakhur has a position for gender agreement. All verbs have a fossilized historical prefix, so now the agreement marker is infixed in the verbal stem. There are two sets of gender markers – the weak one and the strong one. Different verbs use different sets, some verbs use one set in the perfective series of forms and the other in the imperfective series. The two sets are shown in the table below:

Table 3. Gender markers in Tsakhur verbs.

Gender	Set	
	strong	weak
1	=r=	∅
2	=r=	=j=
3	=b=	=w=
4	=d=	∅

Examples of strong verbs::

(56) *a=r=ɨ* 'he/she came; *ala=p'=t'u* (← *ala=b=t'u*) '(somebody) took it'; *qa=d=ɨ* '(somebody) brought it'.

Examples of weak verbs: *gi=w=xu* '(somebody) put it'; *j=ixa* 'she was'; *ha-□-ʔu* 'he/she made it'.

The following table shows the distribution of strong and weak inflection types among Tsakhur verbs:

Table 4. Types of verbal stems in Tsakhur.

Verb Type	Type of the set	
	Perfective	Imperfective and potentialis
Weak type (50%)	Weak	
Strong type (20%)	strong	
Mixed type (30%)	strong	weak

So, the table shows, that 30% of Tsakhur verbs are of a mixed type. While many verbs do not have four markers for four genders, the verbs of the mixed types do distinguish four genders: for each gender, there is a combinations of two markers (one in the perfective series and the other in the imperfective series), and the four combinations are all different. For this reason, the Tsakhur verb in general is considered to have a four-gender agreement pattern, though morphologically some verbs mark only three genders.

Many Tsakhur verbs are compound: they are derived by combining the root with one of the following auxiliaries: *ɨxes* 'be, become', *qixes* 'become', *haʔas* 'do, make', *qaʔas* 'make'. Sometimes, the root is non-verbal. In this case, it is only the auxiliary that has to agree. However, when the causatives are formed by means of compounding, the root is verbal, and the resulting compound has two agreement positions: one in the root, and one in the auxiliary. For instance:

(57) sēk'al-a=j=ʔɨ
2.turn.back-**2=**make.PF
'(somebody) made her turn back'. (59)

There is a more tricky type of compound verbs, composed of a noun and an auxiliary, like *kiwōga haʔas* 'to tease (lit. 'to make teasing')'. These verbs can be transitive (e.g. 'to tease smb') and turn out to have two direct objects, which results in a controller clash, illustrated in (58) and (59):

(58) hama-na maʔallim jama=r=ra abɨr-na-na
this-AA teacher.1 very=1=ADV.1 decent-NA-AA
wo=r=na, dehe ma-ni jiš-e-lj alla
be=1=AA but this-AOBL daughter-OBL-SUP because.of
sɨk'ɨ=r=ra **ma-na** **k'iwōga-nī** **haʔ-a-na.**
a.bit=1=ADV.1 this.1-AA tease-EM2 **1.**make-IPF-**AA**
This teacher is a very decent (man), but because of his daughter, they tease him a bit. (T2:33) (782)

(59) zɨ hama-na wa-s halal xoš
1SG.ERG this.3-AA you.OBL-DAT halal.4 nice
haʔ-a-na.
4.make-IPF-AA
I give it (the horse) to you as present (lit. I am making it a nice halal to you) (T4:62) (800)

In (58), the auxiliary part of the compound agrees with the true object – the demonstrative pronoun, referring to the person being teased, in (59) it agrees with the 'formal' object (the word 'halal' of gender 4), rather than the semantic object (the thing given as present). In the majority of cases, the clash is resolved in favour of the true direct object and not the 'fake' one (the part of the compound).

As mentioned above, basic Tsakhur verb forms are aspectual. Temporal meanings are expressed by a variety of periphrastic forms either with an auxiliary, or with a copula. In perphrastic forms, both the semantic verb and the auxiliary (or the copula) have to agree:

(60) ma-na **īkar-o=r** **īxa** č'alagj-ē
this-AA **1.**walk.IPF-be=**1** **1.**become.PF forest-IN
He was walking in the forest... (88)

In this example, the periphrastic form contains both a copula 'be' and an auxiliary 'become'. They all agree in gender 1 with the subject – the demonstrative determiner referring to a male referent.

3.2. Underived adjectives. Noun modifiers.

3.2.1. Underived adjectives.

In Tsakhur, adjectives do not form a separate lexical category. Instead, there are adjectival roots named here 'underived adjectives' (in Kibrik (1999) they were labelled 'predicatives'). This root has to be specified for a category – it has to be overtly converted to a noun modifier (an adjective) or a verb modifier (an adverb):

(61) *jug* 'good' (bare, unspecified)
jug-un 'good' (a modifier of a gender 4 noun)
jug=da 'well' (adverb, agreeing with a gender 4 noun).

The bare underived adjective typically appears in the construction with the verb 'to become':

(62) gade našwal-i-n **č'ara** **qixa**
boy shame-OBL-ERG red 1.become.PF
The boy became red with shame. (98)

There are a few underived adjectives that have an agreement position in the bare stem. These are *Xe=GEND* 'big', *me=GEND* 'other' and a couple more. That means, in this construction they agree with the subject:

(63) teXnik'a=d **Xe=d** qixa-jn...
equipment.4=COH.4 big=4 4.become.PF-A

Now we have more equipment (=equipment has become more). (T5:79) (811)

3.2.2. Noun modifiers.

In many languages, the syntactic position of noun modifier can typically be occupied by two types of constituents: a) words of a special lexical category (adjectives, participles); b) noun in a special case - mostly genitive. In Tsakhur, there is no adjectival category, nor there is a genitive case in the nominal case paradigm. Instead, there is a universal syntactic device which can convert any category into a nominal dependent. This marker, labelled 'attributive marker' in (Kibrik 1999), has the form *–na* if the head noun is from gender 1, 2 or 3 and *–n* if the head noun is a gender 4 word. The list of categories that can syntactically function as noun modifiers includes many types of constituents: nouns, verbs, underived adjectives, adverbs, case forms, postpositional phrases, numerals, demonstratives, Q-words, auxiliaries, emphatic pronouns and possibly others. Below are some examples:

Noun

(64) uǯaR-a-**n** kuma
fire-OBL-**A** smoke.4

smoke of fire (378)

Verb

(65) Xāqa **allʲhā-na** gade jiz-da coǯ wo=r=na.
s[home 1.go.IPF-AA]s boy.1 my-AA brother.1 be=1=AA

The boy who is going home is my brother. (467)

Underived adjective

(66) Ru wo=r=na sa **Xe=r=na** ālim,
you.1 be=1=AA one big=1=AA scholar.1

You are a great scholar/ (T1:13) 9772)

Adverb

(67) zɨ ǯawar=ra wo=r=na, **sanix-ī-na** čoban wo=r=na.
1SG young=ADV.1 be=1=AA yesterday-OBL-AA shepherd.1 be=1=AA

I am young, I am new to the shepherd's profession (=I am a yesterday's shepherd).

Case form

(68) ičī-**s-ɨn** gurt
girl-**DAT**-A dress.4

a dress for a girl. a girl's dress (383)

Postpositional phrase

(69) **galmra** **xinne-n** hamalX=d=un ǯiga
sheepfold.3 **like-A** such=4=A place.4

A place like a sheepfold (=T6:67) (840)

Quantifier

(70) **gɨrgɨ-n** kaspijskij rajon
whole-A Kaspijskij district.4

The whole Kaspijskij district (T5:23) (773)

Numeral

(71) zɨ za-s ali=w=š-u-na **q'ol=p'=es-da**
1SG.ERG 1SG.OBL-DAT 3=buy-PF-AA three=**3=ORD-AA**
almale.
donkey.3

I bought myself a third donkey. (168)

Demonstrative determiner

(72) **ma-n** maktab
this-A school.4

this school (T1:3) (770)

Interrogative pronoun

(73) **naIXu=r=na** ičī a=r=na?
what=**2=AA** girl.2 2=come.PF-AA

The girl who came, what is she like? (142)

Pronominal attributives

(74) ma-ni maIʔallim-ɨ-qa=d wo=d=un **hamaIX=d=un**
this-AOBL teacher-OBL-POSS=4 be=4=A such=4=A

ušaR šawu-qa ǯa=d k'ɨr g-idj-aq̄-a-n.
child.4 who.OBL-ALL RESTR=4 ear.4 NEG-4.take.off-IPF-A

This teacher has got such a child, who does not obey(=take off ear) to anybody. (T2: 20) (780)

Auxiliaries

(75) ljazim **deš-da** gaf=ɨb h-im-aʔ-a-xe.
necessary not.be-AA word=COH.3 PRH-3.make-IPF-HAB

Do not say unnecessary things. (T4:64) (800)

Possessives

(76) **jiš-in** maktab
our-A school.4

Our school (770)

Emphatic pronouns

(77) har kar-a-qa=r **či-na** sanaʔatkar
each thing-OBL-POSS=1. self.**N.OBL-AA** specialist.1

ɨk̄an...
1.need.IPF

Each profession (=thing) needs its specialist. (=T6:79) (842)

So, attributivization in Tsakhur is a syntactic process, which is not restricted to particular lexical categories and can involve different constituent types.

Note that those underived adjectives that have an agreement position in the root, in the noun modifier position show agreement twice: in the root and in the attributive marker (example (66)). There is another example of doubling morphological agreement markers in the same form. Some postpositions have an agreement position within the root (*awu*=GEND 'under'), which is retained in the attributive construction:

(78) awu=b=na // awu=**d=un**
under=3=ATTR.3 // under=4=ATTR.4

the one (gender 3) under // the one (gender 4) under

However, there are postpositions which do not agree in the adjunct position, but have an agreement marker in attributive constructions:

(79) k'ane // k'ane-**na** // k'ane**=d=ɨn** // k'ane**=b=ɨn**
near // near-ATTR.3 // near=4=ATTR.4 // near=HPL=ATTR.PL

near // the one (gender 3) near // the one or ones (gender 4 or non-human plural) near // the ones (human plural) near (114)

As the example demonstrates, when the postposition 'near' is attributivized, an additional agreement marker appears right before the attributive marker, when the head noun is of gender 4 or in plural.

3.2.3. Phrasal link constructions.

In Tsakhur, there is a special marker *–na*, homophonous with the attributive form for genders 1-3. This marker is primarily derivational: it derives adjectives from nouns. It does not show agreement and can cooccur with the attributive in the same word:

(80) lap haše-n **guǯ-na-n,** **guǯ-na-n** maIʔallim-ā-ra
very that-A strength-NA-A strength-NA-A teacher-PL-NOMPL.COLL

Those very, very good (=strong) teachers (T5:209) (828)

In (80), the adjective 'strong' has been derived from the corresponding noun ('strength'); from this example, we can see, that, while the attributive agrees with the head noun in number, the derivational *–na* does not change.

Some nouns or noun phrases cannot form attributives directly. They require the derivational *–na* marker to intervene between the head noun and the modifying noun, as in (81):

(81) č'or-un č'ar-**na-na** insan
red-A hair.**4**-NA-AA man
I man with red hair (T4:50) (798)

In this example, the noun phrase 'red hair' for some reasons could not be attributivized without the mediation of the derivational *–na*. These mediated attributive constructions have been termed phrasal link constructions.

It is noteworthy about this construction that the head noun of the modifying phrase ('hair' in example (81)), being marked with the attributive morpheme, is still able to trigger *gender* agreement of the dependent attributive ('red' in (81)). Without the intervening derivational morpheme, attributively marked nouns are defective controllers triggering oblique case agreement, but not gender agreement, on dependent words (see 2.9.3).

Quantified phrases also have to form phrasal link constructions ('a seven-year (school)' in example (82)) in order to be made noun modifiers. Within the phrasal link construction, the head noun of the quantified phrase ('year' in example (82)) does not lose the ability to trigger gender agreement on the numeral ('seven' in the example (82)).

(82) manke jiš-in maktab **jiǧi=l=le** **sen**-na-n-nī wo=d=un.
then our-A school.4 seven=**4**=CARD year.**4**-NA-A-EM2 be=4=A
At that time our school was a seven-year school. (T1:2) (770)

3.3. Pronouns

In Tsakhur, pronouns (if they are not attributive in form) typically do not have a position for agreement markers. At the same time, they can attach different particles which do agree. The agreement of the particle is controlled by the pronoun:

(83)a. hiǯō-**xe=d**
what-INDEF1=4
Something (149)

b. hiǯō-**ǯa=d**
what-RESTR=4
Even something (in the context of a negative verb, that is equivalent to 'nothing'). (146)

The pronoun *hiǯō-ǯa=d* has a contracted variant *hiču=d*. In this case, the agreement marker is more likely to be treated as part of the pronoun rather that the particle. So, the contracted form of this pronoun is a peculiar construction type where the pronoun is at the same time the controller and the target.

3.5. Particles, adverbs and postpositions.

The range of agreement targets in Tsakhur is very wide and includes, apart from verbs and noun modifiers, particles, adverbs and postpositions. Particles, adverbs and postpositions all use the strong set of agreement markers (see above, table 3). In this set, only three genders are morphologically distinct: gender 1/2, gender 3 and gender 4. The example below illustrates the agreement of the adverb uftan=GEND 'nice':

(84) *uftar=ra* (← *uftan=ra*) gender 1/2
uftam=ba (← *uftan=ba*) gender 3
uftan=da gender 4

Though all adverbs use agreement markers of the strong set, the markers themselves can slightly differ. For instance, pronominal adverbs have agreement markers without the final vowel:

(85) hajna|Xu=**r** 'in this way', gender 1/2
hajna|Xu=**b** 'in this way', gender3
hajna|Xu=**d** 'in this way', gender 4.

Besides, there are adverbs that can have both types of agreement markers in the same form, thus agreeing twice:

(86) hak'e=**ra=r** 'indeed', gender 1/2
hak'e=**da=d** 'indeed', gender 4

4. Syntactic constructions with agreement

In Tsakhur, the list of grammatical constructions where agreement has to occur is rather extensive. First, there is a number of options in a simple clause: the predicate has to agree with its core arguments (subject or direct object), the adjuncts and the particles also have to agree with one of the core arguments (subject or direct object), in nominal predicate sentences, the predicate can agree with the subject and the subject with the predicate. In non-finite subordinate clauses, the predicate retains the finite agreement pattern, that is, it has to agree either with the intransitive subject or with the direct object. In noun phrases, the nominal modifier (the attributive) has to agree with the head noun. Without exaggerating, it is possible to state that in a Tsakhur clause, there is agreement within every constituent. The categories involved in agreement are gender, number and case. Below, each construction type will be given a more detailed examination.

4.1. Predicate agreement

As Tsakhur is a morphologically ergative language, there is a difference in case marking between transitive and intransitive subjects. The latter are marked with the absolutive (or nominative) case, the former with the ergative case. Direct objects of transitive verbs are also marked with the absolutive. The general rule of predicate agreement can be formulated as follows:

the predicate has to agree with the absolutive argument in the clause.

Below, there is a pair of example illustrating the Tsakhur verbal agreement pattern. In the first one, the intransitive verb agrees with its absolutive subject; in the second one, the transitive verb agrees in gender with the direct object.

(87) gade **Gada=r=xun**
boy.1 1=run.PF
The boy ran. (68)

(88) ma-n-či-šē **alewtina** bak$_{\circ}$-ē-qa Xe=n=ni baljnic-ē-qa
this.N-A-OBL.N-ERG Alevtina.**2** Baku-IN-ALL big=4=AOBL hospital-IN-ALL
hīxar-ēʔ-a
2.reach-**2**.do-IPF

It (a helicopter) rushed Alevtina to Baku, to a big hospital (T1:47) (777)

When the verb is periphrastic, the auxiliary and the semantic verb both agree with the same argument:

(89) temraz=ɨr hiqa ǯa=r **qo=r=t'ul-o=r** **ɨxa**.
Temraz.**1**=COH.1 before RESTR=1 **1**=call.PF-be=**1** **1**.become.PF
Temraz had been invited beforehand. (T4:48) (798)

Normally, there should be only one absolutive argument in the clause. However, in Tsakhur there is the so-called bi-absolutive (or bi-nominative) construction. In the bi-absolutive construction, both subject and object of a transitive verb receive absolutive case marking, so that there are two potential controllers of the predicate agreement. In this case, the verb still agrees with the direct object in gender:

(90) a. ajšat gurt **t'abalj-aʔ-a-nī**.
Ajshat.2 dress.4 look.for-4.make-IPF-EM2
Ajshat was looking for a dress (413).

If the verb is periphrastic, the copula or the auxiliary agrees with the absolutive subject, where as the semantic verb still agrees with the direct object.

(91) b. ajšat gurt **t'abalj-aʔ-a** **wo=r**.
Ajshat.**2** dress.**4** look.for-**4**.make-IPF be=**2**
Ajshat is looking for a dress (413).

So, in verbal sentences, there are three basic types of syntactic organization: the transitive type (subject – ergative, object – absolutive), the intransitive type (the subject is absolutive) and the bi-absolutive, or bi-nominative type, where both subject and object are marked with the absolutive case. In the database, the absolutive transitive subject is named A-subject.

4.2. Noun modifier

In noun modifier constructions (see 3.2.2.) the attributive marker has to agree with the head noun. It has already been mentioned in 3.2.2., that the marker has two forms: one if the head noun is of gender 1,2, or 3 and another one if the head noun belongs to gender 4. So, in singular the attributive agrees with the head noun in gender. In plural, the attributive shows no gender agreement: the marker is the same both in human and non-human plural:

(92) **xo=j=re-mē-n** **insan-ā-r** a=b=ɨ
five=1=CARD-LIM-**A** **person.1-PL-NOM.PL** HPL=come.PF
About five people came. (159)

(93) **č'ek'ɨ-n** **kumag-bɨ**
big-**A** help-PL
Great help (=helps). (T1:6) (771)

In both examples, the head noun is plural, in the first one, it denotes humans, in the second it does not. Still, the attributive marker on the nominal dependent is the same in both cases.

The attributive agrees with the head noun in case, too. It shows gender and number distinctions described above only when the head noun is in the absolutive case. When the head noun is marked for any of the oblique cases, the attributive has the form *–ni* – both in the singular and in the plural.

(94) ma-n-G-ē magazin **baRlamiš-āʔ-a-ni** **waXt-a-lj**,
this.2-A-OBL.2-ERG shop.3 close-3.make-IPF-AOBL time-OBL-SUP

ič'-u-na magazinj-ē-qa.
1.enter-PF-AA shop-IN-ALL

At the time when she was closing the shop, I came into it. (T3: 61) (790)

(95) kitab-ē... āli maktab-b-iš-ē-qa
book-IN high school-PL-OBLPL-IN-ALL

a=b=k'ɨn-ni **ǯawan-ā-ši-k-e** jišon-haʔ-u.
HPL=go.PF-AOBL young-PL-OBLPL-CONT-EL tell-4.make-PF

In his book, ... he told about young people who went to universities (=high schools). (T1:9) (771)

In both examples, the modifier is a verbal attributive, in example (94) the head noun is singular, in (95), it is plural. But the oblique case form of the attributive marker is the same in both examples.

There are three conditions, under which the attributive can acquire additional agreement characteristics: a) emphasis on the modifier; b) omission of the head noun; c) discontinuity of the head noun with its modifier. If any of these conditions is fulfilled, the attributive either shows the full paradigm of case agreement (that is, it can inflect for all eighteen cases) in the singular, or it gets an extra number agreement marker in the plural. Consider the following examples:

(96) zɨ **jiRi-n-či-l-e=r** qaljq'an **X̣ā-b-iši-l-e**.
1SG your-**A-OBL.NPL-SUP-EL=COH.1** 1.be.scared.IPF dog-**PL-OBLPL-SUP-EL**

I am scared of even YOUR dogs. (320)

(97) ǯag̣ara-m-**mɨ** a=d=ɨ balkan-ā-r.
white-A-**PL.NOM** NPL=come.PF horse-PL-NOMPL

WHITE horses came. (320)

(98) jiš-di miz-e-lj
our-AOBL language-OBL-SUP

jišon-āʔ-a-m-mɨ Xe=p=pa-ne wo=b=ɨm-mɨ?
speak-HPL.make-IPF-**A-PL** big=HPL=ADV.HPL=Q2 be=HPL=A-PL

When we speak of other countries – for instance, Azerbajdzhan, - are there many {people} there, who speak our language? (T5:226) (830-831)

In (96), the modifier is emphasized (by attaching a particle) and discontinuous with the head noun. So, it has the same case marker as the head noun has (Superelative) – this is the case which the verb 'to be afraid of' governs in Tsakhur. In (97) under the same conditions the plural modifier has an additional plural marker *–mɨ*. The same marker attaches to the attributive in (98), where the head noun is omitted. However, the rule is not obligatory. From (99) we can see, that in fact additional case and number agreement is optional even under the conditions listed above. In (99a), the discontinuous modifier has the additional plural marker (*-mɨ*) and the case marker matching that of the head noun (the ergative case), but in (99b) it does not. The postposed modifier in (99b) looks exactly the way it would look in the standard noun modifier position

(99)a. jed-ā**a-š-e** ša-s kar oxan-aʔ-u
woman-**PL-OBLPL-ERG** we.OBL-DAT thing.4 4.eat-4.make-PF

ša-s-qa akā āq-ī**m-m-iš-e**.
we.OBL-AD-ALL door.4 4.open.PF-A-**PL-OBLPL-ERG**

The women who opened the door to us, gave us food (=things to eat). (480)

b. jed-ā-š-e ša-s kar oxan-aʔ-u
woman-PL-OBLPL-ERG we.OBL-DAT thing.4 4.eat-4.give-PF

ša-s-qa **akā** **āq-īni**.
we**.OBL-AD-ALL** **door.4** **4.open.PF-AOBL**

The women who opened the door to us, gave us food (=things to eat). (480)

Additional plural marking is optional even in headless noun phrases:

(100) ...**haše-n** qal=t=q-ɨ, halšde sɨk'ɨl=ba=b
that-A 4=study-PF now little=ADV.HPL=COH.HPL

gramotnɨ=ba w=uxa.
knowledgable=ADV.HPL HPL=become.PF

The same (=those) {people}, having studied, have become a bit more knowledgable. (=T5:79) (811)

There is no head noun the determiner *haše-n* is modifying, so, it is expected to have the plural marker *-mi*; the resulting form would be *haše-m-mi* 'that-A-PL'. Contrary to the expectations, this is not the case.

It is claimed in (Kibrik 1999) that under the conditions listed above (emphasis, word order and head noun omission) the noun modifier is substantivized and the construction is appositive rather than attributive. However, in terms of the present database, these constructions with full case agreement and additional plural marker have been treated as instances of variation in the head-modifier domain under certain conditions. One of the arguments for that view could be the optionality of the extra agreement features.

4.3. Subordinate verb

There are three types of subordinate verbs in Tsakhur: attributives, verbal nouns (or masdars) and converbs.

Verbal attributives are formed along the line with other types of attributives (see 4.2.).

Masdars, or verbal noun, are formed by suffixing the marker *–i* to the verb stem. Masdars have a full set of nominal cases and occupy argument positions in the sentence.

Converbs in Tsakhur express a variety of semantic relationship between the two clauses: temporal, causal, concessive.

In terms of finiteness, Tsakhur subordinate verbs are (apart from attributives, see below) syntactically non-finite. That is, they are dependent verb forms that can be subordinate clause predicates, but cannot occupy the main clause predicate position. Morphologically, though, there is no drastic downgrade of finite features in Tsakhur subordinate clauses. For instance, all dependent verb forms in Tsakhur can have their own subjects and objects, which do not have to be co-indexed with any of the main clause arguments. All core arguments of the dependent verb are marked for case in the same way they would be marked if this verb were the main clause predicate. In terms of agreement, that means that the agreement pattern is also retained in subordinate clauses. Subordinate verbs agree with their absolutive arguments (intransitive subjects and direct objects). Bi-absolutive (bi-nominative) constructions do not occur in subordinate clauses, so there is no agreement with A-subjects. In the following examples, dependent verbs are shown to agree with their intransitive subjects.

Attributive:

(101)	jed$_j$	**in$_j$ammiš-d-ēǰx-e-na**	coǯ —	bajram	wo=r=na.
	mother.2	distrust-NEG-2.become-IPF-AA	brother.1	Bajram	be=1=AA

The brother who mother distrusts is Bajram. (469)

Verbal noun:

(102)	bajram-ɨ-s	q'abɨl-ēx-e	wo=r	jed$_j$	**a=r=k'ɨn-ī.**
	Bajram.1-OBL-DAT	like-2.become-4PF	be=2	mother.**2**	2=leave.PF-MSD.4

Bajram is pleased that mother left. (490)

Converb:

(103)	ušaR	**Ga?i=t=x-u-mē,**	geš-es-ɨn.
	child.4	**4=fall-PF-LIM**	4.cry-POT-A

If the child falls down, he or she will cry. (544)

In clauses headed by the verbal noun, any of the arguments can be marked with the attributive. Being attributively marked, this argument does not forfeit the ability to trigger the agreement of the subordinate predicate (masdar). In the next example, the direct object of the subordinate verb (it is a noun of gender 2) is in the attributive form, but it still triggers gender 2 agreement on the masdar:

(104)	bajram-ɨ-s	q'abɨl-ex-e	wo=d
	Bajram-OBL-DAT	like-4.стать.IPF	be=4
	dak-i-s̄-e	pāt'imat-**ɨ-n**	**k'ele=r=Xɨn-ī.**
	father-OBL-AD-EL	Fatima.**2**-OBL-**A**	**2=**forget.PF-MSD.4

Bajram is pleased that father forgot Fatima. (491)

4.4. Adjuncts, particles and Predicate-2 constructions

4.4.1. Adjuncts.

A prominent typological feature of Tsakhur is agreement of adjuncts with absolutive arguments in a clause. This feature, though, is generally very common in the languages of Daghestan. Adjuncts that show agreement comprise adverbs and postpositions. These categories, like finite verbs, agree with intransitive subjects and direct objects. Example (105) shows a postposition agreeing with an intransitive subject, and in (106), the adverb agrees with the direct object:

(105) **bisī** istol-u-kj awu=**b** gi=w=ʔur-o=b.
cat.**3** table-OBL-CONT under=**3** 3=sit.PFbe=3

The cat is sitting under the table. (469)

(106) ušaRwal-ē **zɨ** **Xe=r=ra** get-a-na-nī-xe.
childhood-IN 1SG.**1** big=**1=ADV.1** 1.beat-IPF-AA-EM2-HAB

In my childhood, they beat me a lot. (106)

In A-subject (or bi-absolutive) constructions agreement of adjuncts is tricky, for there is more than one potential controller. In most cases, it is highly likely that the adjunct can agree with any of the potential controllers:

(107) **maIhammad** čolj-ē a=**r/=*d*** jed-i-s
Mahammad.**1.SG.NOM** field-IN inside=**1/=*4*** mother-OBL-DAT
kumag haʔ-a wo=r=na.
help.***4.SG.NOM*** 4.make-IPF be=1=AA

Mahammad is helping his mother in the field. (369)

In (Kibrik 1999) it is claimed that quality adverbs ('quickly', 'badly', 'a bit') markedly prefer agreement with the direct object:

(108) allī **ek'=da //??ek'=ra** dawar-ā-r qojšar wo=r=na
Ali.1 fast=**ADV.NPL** // fast=**ADV.1** sheep-PL-NOMPL NPL.flip.IPF be=1=AA

Ali is flipping sheep very quickly (370).

However, in a text, an example has been attested, where this adverb agreed with the absolutive subject:

(109) **jiǯ** **ek'=ra** - **ek'=ra** ušaR-ā-ši-ni
herself.**2** quick=**ADV.2** - quick=**ADV.2** child-PL-OBLPL-AOBL
dak̄j-ā-ši-kₒa jedj-ā-ši-kₒa mɨšljaIhat-bɨ haʔ-a,
father-PL-OBLPL-COMIT mother-PL-OBLPL-COMIT advice-PL NPL.do-IPF

She quickly took advice from the children's parents. (T1:34) (775)

So, I am assuming, in bi-absolutive, or A-Subject constructions there is no hard and fast resolution rule of the adjuncts' agreement.

There is one more type of adjunct showing agreement with the core argument of the clause: the possessive form. This form is most typically used in the context of the verb 'to be, to exist', which in Tsakhur is predicate in possessive clauses as well. So, the possessive form never occurs in transitive clauses and can agree only with intransitive subjects. Example (110) demonstrates agreement of the possessive in an existential statement; example (111) shows agreement of the same form in a possessive sentence:

(110) sa waXt-a-lj jiš-di **dera-j-qa=r**
one time-OBL-SUP our-AOBL valley-OBL-POSS=1

temraz-wɨ (do-na-na) balkan-ā-r qolq-a-na
Temraz.-QUOT (name-NA-AA) horse-PL-NOMPL NPL.steal-IPF-AA
siXnari wo=r ɨxa.
thief.**1** be=1 1.become.PF
Once in our valley there was a horse-thief called Temraz(=T4:1) (792)

(111) jiš-di **walq'a-qa=b** q'ïmat deš-da.
our-AOBL sheep-POSS=**3** value.**3** not.be-AA
Our sheep are worthless (=have no value). (=T5:14) (803)

4.4.2. Particles.

Particles that show agreement in Tsakhur are the restrictive particle *ǯa=GEND*, the indefinite particle *xe=GEND* and the coherence particle (see also 2.10.1). As a matter of fact, the latter, is solely composed of the agreement marker. Particles in Tsakhur agree in the same way as adjuncts do: in transitive clauses, particle agreement is triggered by the direct object (example (112)), in intransitive clauses the particle agrees with the intransitive subject (example (113)):

(112) t'ufli-bɨ ǯe-s-qa hiwo, **sumk'a=b**
shoes-PL self.OBL.2-AD-ALL 3.give.PF bag.3=**COH.3**
gi=w=x-u wo=b ǯu-ni k'aneqa.
3=put-PF be=3 self.OBL.1-AOBL near
He gave her the shoes and put the bag next to himself. (T3:51) (788)

(113) nʲak **ǯa=b** mɨk'a qi=w=xa
milk.**3** RESTR=**3** cold 3=become.PF
Only milk got cold. (411)

In A-Subject constructions, particles, as well as adjuncts, have a clash of two potential controllers. In (Kibrik 1999) it is shown, that the selection of controller depends on the type of constituent the particle attaches to. When the particle follows a comitative noun phrase or a temporal adverb, its agreement is triggered by the absolutive transitive subject:

(114) maIhammad rasul-u-kₒa=**r**/*d allī-kₒa=**r**/*d
Mahammad.**1.SG.NOM** Rasul-OBL-COMIT=COH.**1**/*NPL Ali-COMIT=COH.**1**/*NPL
Xaj-bɨ alʲaʔ-a-nī wo=r=na.
house-PL.NOM NPL.build-IPF-EM2 be=1-AA
Mahammad was building houses both with Rasul and Ali. (368)

If the particle is cliticized to noun phrases denoting material or direction, it agrees with the direct object:

(115) aIlī sɨwa-b-iš-ē-qa=**b**/*=r maktab-ē-qa=**b**/*=r
Ali.1.SG.NOM mountains-PL-OBLPL-IN-ALL=COH.**HPL**/*1 school-IN-ALL=COH.**NPL**/*1
kulʲfat-bɨ qōk-a-nī wo=r=na.
child-PL.NOM.HPL HPL.bring-IPF-EM2 be=1=AA
Ali brought the children to the mountains and to school.(369)

In more general terms, some types of adjuncts the particle can attach to (those in example (115), for instance) semantically or syntactically are tighter knit with the verb phrase rather than with the subject. In this case, the particle, too, agrees with the object, the object being part of the verb phrase. Temporal adverbs modify the whole clause rather than just the verb phrase, and the comitative in example (114) syntactically and semantically is part of the subject NP. When particles attach to constituents of that type, they agree with the subject. Some types of constituents (essives and datives) are neutral in the sense that they exhibit a loose relationship either with the subject or with the object, so both types of particle agreement are acceptable.

(116) **malhammad** dak̄-i-s=**ir**/=***id*** jed-i-s=**ir**/=***id***
Mahammad.**1.SG.NOM** father-OBL-DAT=COH.**1**/***4*** mother-OBL-DAT=COH.**1**/***4***
kumag haʔ-a wo=r=na.
help.***4.SG.NOM*** 4.make-IPF be=1=AA
Mahammad is helping both his mother and father. (369)

4.4.3. Predicate-2

There is a special construction type in Tsakhur, where the adverb does not semantically modify the verb, but describes the state of the argument. Similar constructions have been attested in various languages and are sometimes known as depictives (see, for instance, Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann to appear). In the database, these have been termed Predicate-2 constructions. In these constructions, the predicate-2 adverbs agrees with the absolutive argument – intransitive subject (example (117)) and direct object (example (118)).

(117) q'ɨldɨm daRam=**da** qa=d=ajl-e.
winter.4 hard=**ADV.4** 4=come-IPF
A hard winter is coming (=winter is coming hard) (T5:12) (783)

(118) kuzj wo=d=un **gej-bɨ** Gluma=**da** hiwāǯ-es
sheepfold.4 be=4=A lamb-**PL** warm=**ADV.NPL** NPL.keep-POT
A sheepfold is (a place) to keep the lambs warm. (T6:66) (840)

4.5. Nominal predicates

Nominal predicates in Tsakhur are accompanied by a copula or an auxiliary. The copula or the auxiliary can occur either between the two noun phrases (subject and predicate) or follow the predicate nominal, occupying the rightmost position in the clause. Copula (or auxiliary) placement affects its agreement in the following way. When the copula is in the final position in the clause, its agreement can be triggered either by the predicate (example (119)) or the subject (example (120)) NP:

(119) **rōc** ušaR Galjaʔ-a-n ***kar*** wo=**d=un**.
cradle.**3.SG.NOM** child.4 4.put-IPF-A thing.***4.SG.NOM*** be=**4=A**
A cradle is a thing you put a child in. (=T6:70) (841)

(120) ma-n-Gɨ-na **peše** urus miz-e-k-e konfrans-bɨ,
this.2-A-OBL.2-AA job.3 Russian language-OBL-CONT-EL conference-PL
XaIm-mɨ, disput-bɨ alRaʔ-ī, ǯo rajon-ni
party-PL debate-PL NPL.organize.PF-MSD self.HPL region-AOBL
olimpiada-b-iš-ē-qa haIzir-a=w=ʔ-ī **w=uxa.**
comptition-PL-OBLPL-IN-ALL prepare-HPL=make.PF-MSD.4 3=become.PF
Her vocation was organizing conferences, parties, disputes in the Russian language, preparing school students for regional competitions {in the Russian language}. (T1:35) (775)

In (119), the copula in clause-final position agrees with the predicate noun of gender 4; in (120), the auxiliary in the same position agrees with the subject noun 'job' of gender 3, while the predicate NP is a verbal noun, belonging to gender 4.

When the copula is placed between the two noun phrases, it generally agrees with the subject NP – the one it stands next to:

(121) **ši** wo=**b**=ɨm-mɨ alXtɨ-ni sɨwa-b-iši-n ***millet***.
we.**HPL.NOM** be=**HPL**=A-PL high-AOBL mountain-PL-OBLPL-A folk.***4.SG.NOM***
We are the (high) mountain folk . (=T5:4) (801)

However, for some language consultants the only acceptable copula agreement option was that with the predicate phrase. For instance, example (122), where the copula stands next to the subject phrase and agrees with it in gender 4, was rejected as ungrammatical:

*(122) istaR t'abalj-aʔ-ī **wo=d=on** sa Xe=b=na **iš**.
bride.2 2.search-make-MSD.4 be=**4=AA** one big=3=AA job.3
It is a hard (=a big) job to look for a bride. (443)

In Tsakhur predicate nominal sentences the subject position can be occupied by a demonstrative determiner. Agreement of demonstrative determiners in this position can only be triggered by the predicate noun. In example (123), there are two predicate nominal sentences; in the first one, the predicate is from gender 4, in the second one – from gender 3. Correspondingly, the demonstrative determiner subject of the first sentence has the form of gender 4, and that of the second one – the form of gender 3.

(123) q'ol=j=re jed-ā-r sa ǯigɨ-ē-qa
two=2=CARD woman-PL-NOMPL one place-IN-ALL
sa=b=īm-mɨ-ne — **i-n** wo=d=un Xe=d=ɨn
HPL=gather.PF-A-PL-Q2 this.**4-A.NOM** be=4=A big=4=A
bazar, xebɨ=r=es-da qa=r=īnGal, **i-na**
chaos.***4.SG.NOM*** three=2=ORD-AA 2=come.PF-TEMP1 this.**3-AA.3.NOM**
wo=b=na alddatī ***GalmaGal.***
be=3=AA real outrage.***3.SG.NOM***
If two ladies get together at some place – it's a chaos; if the third one comes – it's a real disaster (=outrage). (=T5:189) (825)

This construction can be seen as the instance of back agreement in Tsakhur (back agreement is a difficult issue: for preliminary discussion based on languages where more research has been done see Corbett 1986: 1002-1003, 1019-1020). Another possible instance of back agreement is agreement of headless attributives in subject position with the predicate noun phrase:

(124) **a=w=X-u-na** ma-na q'ol=b=le **čawra** wo=b,
[3=be.left-PF-AA this-AA two=3=CARD cattle.**3**] be=3
There's only two head of cattle left. (T5:63) (808)

4.6. Finite attributives and adverbials

Attributive verb forms, unlike other dependent verb forms, can be syntactically finite: in Tsakhur, they regularly occur in the position of main clause predicate. In (Kibrik 1999) it was claimed that sentences with finite attributives in predicate position express categorial judgements – a particular type of information structure.

Finite attributives agree according to the ergative pattern as well – they agree with intransitive subjects (example (125)) and direct objects (example (126)):

(125) hama-na
this-AA
ičī do-ju-lj-na merwara **hēX̥a-na-nī-xe**,
girl.2 name-OBL-SUP-AA Mervara 2.run.away.IPF-AA-EM2-HAB
kar-bɨ badal-h-idj-aʔ-īni-mā.
thing-PL change-NEG-NPL.make-AOBL-LIM
This girl called Mervara would run away not to change her (dirty) clothes. (T2:24) (780-781)

(126) gojne hama-n-Gɨ-s ham-na istakan d-e=w=xa-mā,
then this.2-A-OBL.2-DAT this-AA glass.3 NEG=3=become.PF-LIM
ma-n-G-ē ma-n-či-lj alla djalwʔa-nī **hāʔ-a-na**.
this.2-A-OBL.2-ERG this.N-A-OBL.N-SUP because war.**3**-EM2 3.make-IPF-**AA**
When she didn't get that glass, she protested (=made war). (T2:23) (780)

Periphrastic verb forms can include the attributive form of the copula or the auxiliary, which is no different from the single attributive verb in terms of agreement. Example (127) shows agreement of the attributive copula with the intransitive subject:

(127) istaR-na balkan **wo=b=na** **qāI.**
bride-AA horse.3 be=3=AA 3.come.IPF
The bride's horse is coming. (T5:173) (822)

When the absolutive argument which the attributive has to agree with is in the plural form, the attributive acquires an additional plural marker. It is the same marker which the attributive has in headless attributive constructions (see 4.2):

(128) i-ni zalʔɤf-ē, haše-ni magazinʒ-ē nalXu=d=ē,
this-AOBL woman-ERG that-AOBL shop-IN how=NPL=Q1
hamalXu=d t'ufli-bɨ **qa=dʒ=īm-mɨ.**
thus=NPL shoes-PL NPL=bring.PF-A-PL
This woman brought the shoes the way she had done in that shop. (T3:65) (790)

In bi-absolutive constructions the attributive form of the auxiliary agrees with the absolutive transitive subject (A-Subject):

(129) allī hiǯō aʒaʔ-a-ne **wo=r=na**ʔ
Ali.**1**.NOM what.4.NOM 4.build-IPF-Q2 be=1=**AA**
What is Ali building? (326)

In Tsakhur there is another verb form, which, being dependent from the formal viewpoint, can nevertheless function as main clause predicate: the adverbial. Adverbials are verbal forms having adverbial suffixes (please note that we are not using the terms 'converb' and 'adverbial' as synonyms). Adverbials in finite position agree like finite verbs according to the ergative pattern. Example (130) consists of two parts: in the first part, the adverbial agrees with the intransitive subject, in the second – with the direct object.

(130) malhammad č'ɨlr-xa**=ra**, dak̄-ē ǯu-s
Mahammad.1 be.ill-1.become.PF=ADV.1 father-ERG himself.1.OBL-DAT
darman ali=w=š-u=**ba**.
medicine.3 3=buy-PF=**ADV.3**
Mahammad fell ill, and his father bought medicine. (452)

Please note the adverbial suffixes of the forms *č'ɨlr-xa=ra* 'fell ill' and *ali=w=š-u=ba* 'bought' (cf. 3.5. on adverb formation).

4.7. Complex clauses.

There are two instances of non-local agreement in Tsakhur. By non-local agreement, we mean agreement of the matrix predicate with a dependent clause argument.

a) Normally, matrix verbs in Tsakhur agree with their clausal arguments, but can also agree with one of the arguments of the complement verb as well. In the following example, the matrix verb 'to like' agrees with the subject of the complement clause (the predicate of the complement clause is a verbal noun):

(131) bajram-ɨ-s **q'abɨl-ēx-e** **wo=r** **jedʒ** a=r=k'ɨn-ī.
Bajram.1-OBL-DAT like-**2.стать-IPF** **be=2** mother.**2** 2=leave.PF-MSD.4
Bajram is pleased that mother left. (490)

b) Non-local agreement can arise in focus constructions. Focus is marked in Tsakhur sentences by shifting the copula or the auxiliary to the focused element. Compare, for example:

(132)a. zɨ a=r=ɨ **wo=r=na**
1SG 1=come.PF be=1=AA

I came.

b. zɨ wo=r=na a=r=ɨ
1SG be=1=AA 1=come.PF

It is ME who came. (584)

A dependent clause argument can be focused too by placing the auxiliary or the copula next to it. In this position, the copula (the auxiliary) agrees with the absolutive argument of the dependent clause. So, structurally, the copula is part of the main clause periphrastic predicate, but it agrees with the absolutive argument of the dependent clause ('car' in example (133)):

(133) zɨ wa-s-o=d=un mašin hil-es
1SG.1.NOM you.OBL-DAT-быть=**4=A** car.**4.SG.NOM** 4.give-POT
qaljq'an.
1.afraid.IPF

I am afraid to give my car TO YOU. (371)

4.8. Antecedent – anaphor.

In Tsakhur, there are several series of demonstrative determiners according to the relative distance of the real-world objects or discourse antecedent they refer to. The pronoun *in(a)* refers to objects, close to the speaker or recently mentioned in discourse. The pronouns of the sh-series (*še-n(a)*, *haše-n(a)*) refer to remote objects or antecedents; the pronouns of the m-series (including pronouns *ma-n(a)* and *hama-n(a)*) are neutral.

It has already been pointed out in 2.3, that demonstrative determiners are formally attributives and in the absolutive case distinguish between genders 1-3, on the one hand, and gender 4, on the other. In oblique cases, though, demonstrative determiners show more gender distinctions due to the form of the oblique stem: they distinguish between genders 1, 2 and 3/4. Compare the dative forms of the demonstrative 'ma-n(a)', referring to a male, a female and a non-human object:

(134) a. ma-n-Gu-s
this-A-OBL.1-DAT
To him

b. ma-n-Gɨ-s
this-A-OBL.2-DAT
To her

b. ma-n-či-s
this-A-OBL.3/4-DAT
To it (135)

5. Agreement features.

Gender4a - {I, II, III, IV}
Gender2c - {human – non-human}
Gender2d - {I/II/III , IV}
Gender3c - {I/II, III, IV}
Gender3d - {I, II, III/IV}
Number2 - {singular, plural}
Case2 - {abs, obl}
Case18 - {Abs, Erg, Dat, Aff, Comit, Poss, Iness, Inall, Inel, Supess, Supall, Supel, Contess, Contall, Contel, Adess, Adall, Adel, All}.

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